

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

SPEECHES.

OF

HON. GEORGE W. SCRANTON

AND

HON. JAMES H. CAMPBELL,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

ON THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 11, 1860.

The Clerk stated, as the business first in order, the question of the admissibility of the resolution proposed by Mr. EDWARDS yesterday, upon which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCRANTON] was entitled to the floor.

Mr. SCRANTON. Mr. Clerk, indisposition has prevented me from constant attendance in the House for the past few days, and I am still unable to give attention to the preparation of my remarks at this time.

Mr. Clerk, frequent allusion having been made to the vote for Mr. GILMER for Speaker, by certain members of the Opposition party, accompanied with charges of bad faith in the casting of that vote, I desire, as one of those who contributed thereto, to explain my connection with the movement, and state briefly the motives which prompted it.

But, first, allow me to say that I am one of those Representatives from Pennsylvania who were elected by the *People's party*. I received the support of the Republican party entire, and, in addition thereto, the suffrages of a very large part of the Democratic party of my district.

Individually, I have been a Whig—was born in the faith—gave my first vote, in 1832, for Mr. Clay—and adhered to the tenets of that party, through all its vicissitudes, till the organization became practically defunct. I was proud of the party, both in respect of its advocates and its principles, and I cherish those still. For the great leader, I felt an attachment so intense, that I know of no other name that would so appropriately express the emotion as *love*. I entertain the deepest veneration for his memory. Although I have never been an

active politician, never having been a candidate for office until my acceptance of the nomination for the position I now have the honor to hold, I have not been indifferent to the great questions that have of late been submitted to the country. In 1856, my vote was given to Mr. Fillmore, which was by many considered an indirect vote for Mr. Buchanan; and I frankly acknowledge that I then preferred Buchanan to Fremont. Besides, on several occasions, I have voted for Democrats in our State elections, when I considered the candidates of that party the better men. These facts I merely adduce to prove that I am conservative, and not so wedded to party as to be deterred from making concessions, when, in my judgment, the public good requires it.

My position, therefore, in this body, is an independent one. The one hundred and fifty thousand people I have the honor to represent have demanded no pledges to particular measures. They have confidence in my fidelity to their interests, and I have confidence in their national and conservative sentiments; and no motive can influence me but the desire and the determination to represent them faithfully, and to serve my State and my country.

Now, from the first, it has been apparent to me, as it must have been to every gentleman here, that an election cannot be effected without some concessions of party preference; hence, sensible that the position I occupied would warrant me in joining such a compromise, I accepted the first opportunity that presented itself.

On the day that the honorable gentleman

from Tennessee [Mr. ETHERIDGE] announced to the other side of the House that Mr. GILMER could command more than thirty votes from the Opposition, at any time when the Democrats would come to his support, I proposed to several gentlemen of our Pennsylvania delegation to make his proposition good. This was promptly done, and Mr. GILMER's vote was carried up to thirty-six. So far as my observation extended at the time, I was the first among the Republicans to suggest this step; and I had no consultation on the subject with any one of the South Americans previous to the vote. Subsequently, it was asserted that we were not sincere in giving that vote, and stood ready to change it, so far as we were concerned, the moment it should appear that Mr. GILMER had received a majority. Several gentlemen repudiated that charge publicly, of which number I was one. Mr. GILMER was again put in nomination by the honorable gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. HARRIS,] with the fair understanding that his former Opposition vote would be repeated; and the Democratic party was invited to come to his aid, and secure his election; but this they refused to do, and Mr. GILMER failed of an election. I therefore feel that I have made as much concession, in the way of party predilection, in order to effect an organization, as any gentleman upon this floor, and much more than the most of them, for no opportunity has since presented itself in which my vote could have availed in the election of a national compromise man. My only object in this movement was, to bring about an organization on a fair compromise basis, by uniting on a sound, national, Union-loving, Southern man, whose well-known position on the tariff question makes him doubly acceptable to the people I have the honor to represent; and that gentleman being a large slaveholder, and, as I understand, representing one of the largest slaveholding constituencies in the South, I supposed, if the Democratic party in this House had been *sincere* in their professions respecting the election of a Speaker, he could not but be acceptable to *them*.

It has been urged against Mr. GILMER, as an excuse for opposing him, that he has received the support of Republicans. I am astonished at so humiliating an exhibition of factious partisan spirit. I did not vote for him because he is an American, for I never belonged to the party; but I voted for him solely for the reasons I have stated.

And here let me remark, that I left Mr. SHERMAN for two ballots, not that I loved him less, but because I loved good order more, and wished to extricate this House and rescue the country from the difficulties which surround us. I came here a stranger to Mr. SHERMAN. I have listened attentively to the discussions on this floor, in the course of which, it seems to me, all injustice and misrepresentation have been heaped upon his devoted head, while, so

far as I can learn, previously to this contest, no man ever stood better or was considered more courteous and honorable than he in all his intercourse with his fellow-members. I understand this to be admitted by the Democrats who have been four years associated with him in Congress. He has probably had less to do with the slavery discussion than almost any man who has occupied a seat in the National Legislature during that period.

During all the excitement and agitation of the last two Congresses, of which he was a member, Mr. SHERMAN made but a single speech on the subject of slavery, called out by a message of President Pierce, in 1856, an extract from which has recently been read at the Clerk's desk; and I undertake to say that the sentiments it expressed are as conservative, temperate, and proper, as those of any Northern man, of any party, in or out of Congress. The only accusation brought against him is an *alleged* endorsement of the Helper book. Like Mr. SHERMAN, I have never seen or read that book; but if the extracts which have been brought to the notice of the House were correctly quoted, I have no hesitation in condemning it, distinctly and unqualifiedly; and I have reason to know that this is the position of Mr. SHERMAN. The explanation which he volunteered on this subject several weeks ago was satisfactory to my mind, and, as I am informed, was intended to be a full and complete disavowal of all sympathy with the obnoxious sentiments which have formed the staple of so much angry discussion here. I have the highest confidence in Mr. SHERMAN's integrity, capacity, and patriotism; and no fear that a descendant of the great signer of the Declaration, placed in that chair, would countenance any tendency towards disunion, or encourage any attempt to weaken or render inoperative any of the laws of the land. Besides, sir, his views on the subject of Home Protection fully accord with my own.

Mr. Clerk, I am in no way an organ or exponent of the views of the Southern Opposition party. They need none outside their own ranks. They are abundantly able to take care of themselves; but, as a Representative of a portion of the people of the great Keystone State, I cannot forbear a word of approbation.

It is charged that these South Americans have been affiliating with the Republican party, and that they have taken their seats with us on this side, as if that were an offence rendering them unworthy the respect of gentlemen on the other side. So far as I have noticed, no improper intimacy has existed between these gentlemen and our party, nor have I observed any particular anxiety on their part to affiliate further than to extend and exchange those friendly courtesies which are due between gentlemen, and should especially be maintained among the members of this House. For one, Mr. Clerk, I am free to say that I have been

happy to associate with them, and to cultivate friendly relations; and although we do not agree with them on the important subject of slavery extension, I have become strongly attached to them. I admire the men; their high order of talent, and their sound, patriotic, Union-loving and Union-preserving sentiments, so eloquently and fearlessly expressed, show them, in times like the present, to be eminently entitled to the respect and confidence of all American citizens. I rejoice that these gentlemen are here; and I thank God that He has given me a heart large enough to embrace all men who love this glorious Union, and are resolved to stand by it and preserve it, come from where they may. If my voice could reach the ears of their constituents, I would say to them: Gentlemen, your interests and the interests of your country are safe in the hands of the Representatives you have sent here, and I entreat you to re-elect every one of them by tremendously-increased majorities. All honor to the immortal twenty-three!

Now, Mr. Clerk, Union demonstrations at the North having been often referred to since the commencement of this session, in terms, too, of doubt and suspicion as to their ingenuousness, I desire, in conclusion, to call attention to a similar meeting among the people I represent. It convened at Wilkesbarre, the county seat of Luzerne, a county embracing a population of one hundred thousand. There, on classic ground, "by Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming," in a region whose surpassing natural beauty and magnificent resources of wealth and prosperity are enhanced in interest by the renown of a revolutionary battle-field; whose history records deeds of heroism as worthy of immortality as the defence of the blooming valleys of Attica, and whose tales of blood and suffering mark the most melancholy page of American history; there, sir, in the centre of northeastern Pennsylvania, where no sordid motives of trade and commerce form the impulse and incentive, as gentlemen have alleged, of the great Atlantic ports; there, where a prosperous, an intelligent, an independent, and a virtuous people dwell in peaceful security, far removed from the fountains of factious excitement, my constituents, without respect to party, assembled in their might to proclaim their fraternal attachment to the people of the Southern States, and to register anew their pure devotion to the Constitution of the Union. Their presiding officer on that occasion was an aged patriot, known, honored, and revered by the whole community in which he resides, and whose sire participated with the gallant little band who, in the year 1778, stood forth against overwhelming numbers of the enemy in defence of the homes and firesides of Wyoming and Pennsylvania; while the distinguished representatives of both the Republican and Democratic parties, including among them gentlemen who have repeatedly occupied seats upon

the floor of this House, together with jurists and lawyers, whose abilities, let me observe, in their high spheres of action, are without superiors anywhere in these States, and, in fact, men in all stations and ranks of life, the business man, the author, the farmer, the mechanic, and the miner, united in one mighty, spontaneous, and emphatic endorsement of the national compact, and uttered a withering malediction on those fanatics who seek to disturb its obligations. These resolutions (which I shall ask you to read, Mr. Clerk) do not simply express the feelings of the people of the twelfth district; I know, sir, that they indicate the sentiment of my whole State; and after these resolutions have been listened to, I venture to say, the honorable gentleman from Alabama [Mr. COBE] will be led to acknowledge that Barnstable is not the only bright spot in the Northern States.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

"The citizens of the county of Luzerne here assembled to-night, irrespective of party, do proclaim:

"That they are the fast and abiding friends of the Federal Union; that they know no North, no East, no South, no West, that is entitled to any particular privilege under the Constitution and laws of the land; but as one solid and compact whole, as it came from the hands of our revolutionary fathers, it is our wish and desire to preserve, and transmit it to our children as a legacy of nameless price, a theory and system of government more perfect in itself than the world ever saw.

"That the separate and independent sovereignties of the several States of this Union are constitutional guaranties; and that any attempt upon the part of the citizens of one to interfere with the social and domestic relations of another, by force or violence, is treason, and deserves the penalties which the law imposes on that high and revolting crime.

"That the late attempt of a gang of lawless and desperate men at Harper's Ferry to revolutionize the Government, by creating a servile insurrection in the South, merits the rebuke and censure of every patriot in the land; and the punishment they received is but the penalty due to crime. Let the aiders, comforters, and abettors, of that treasonable scheme solace themselves with the thought that their safety lies in the concealment of their crime.

"That the prayer meetings and the public assemblies which have recently been held, sympathizing with the felons connected with the outrage at Harper's Ferry, have a bold and unerring tendency to destroy the public morals, to weaken and impair the bonds of the Federal Union, and to bring into reproach and disgrace the Christian religion.

"That secession or disunion is to be condemned, wherever it may be uttered. It is not to be tolerated. And that, while the people of the North proclaim this sentiment, let them not be the cause, by their acts, of ag-

gression upon the institutions of the South. And to be able to give moral power to these great truths, it can only be done by living up to the letter and spirit of the compact of the States. While the seal of the covenant remains unbroken, disunion can never rear its deformed and hideous face.

That we do unqualifiedly approve of the conduct of the Executive and people of the old Commonwealth of Virginia in the prompt and effectual punishment of the men who dared to subvert her Government and raise in servile rebellion a portion of her people; and that we do also approve of the decided and firm stand taken by the Executive of this State, in surrendering up the criminals fleeing from that justice which their crimes honestly merited. May the same friendly spirit between the great States of Virginia and Pennsylvania, as existed in the days of the Revolution, and now, continue forever.

That we are law-abiding men, and Union-loving men; that for the safe, harmonious, and successful administration of the affairs of the Federal Government, which involve the happiness and welfare of twenty-five million people, there is no law of political action paramount to the Federal Constitution; it is the very highest law which can shield and protect the whole people of the Union; and in the support and maintenance of the high and exalted principles embraced in that Constitution, liberty, such as American citizens only know how to appreciate and value, can alone be preserved.

Resolved, That the foregoing opinions express the views of this meeting on the several measures there embraced.

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in all the papers of this county, and such other papers throughout the Union as may be inclined to do so."

Mr. SCRANTON. Now, sir, I trust not only the gentleman from Alabama, but all gentlemen from the South, will be satisfied with the loyalty of my constituents.

The charge has gone forth from this House, and been caught up by the partisan press, that the Republicans have boasted of the ability of the North, with its population of eighteen million, to coerce into submission the people of the South. The sentiment expressed by my colleague [Mr. HICKMAN] has, I think, been perverted from the meaning intended by him. But, while I have the highest appreciation of his able and fearless course here, in vindication of sound principles, even in its original shape it is, in my opinion, objectionable; all such invidious comparisons of strength only tend to foment discord and alienation, and to widen the breach that seems to be opening between the two great sections of our country. Mr. HICKMAN is competent to defend his own opinions. I merely allude to this expression in order to show that while such charges are

hurled against Republicans, it should be remembered that he has taken pains, on more than one occasion, in this House, to affirm the orthodoxy of his Democracy, and to resent all attempts to impeach it.

My fervent hope is, that our power as a people will be reserved for nobler objects than fratricidal strife, and be united without regard to section in advancing those aims of civilization by which the Union will be made prosperous, happy, and great. I heartily agree with the honorable and eloquent gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. MILES,] that no State or section of this Confederacy can be forced into subjection by the others without a virtual dissolution of the Union. Such a supposition, as the gentleman aptly remarked, is totally at variance with the quality of our common Anglo-Saxon nature.

Finally, Mr. Clerk, I am one of those who have faith in the perpetuity of the Union; confidence in the wisdom and good sense of the people both at the North and at the South. Beyond that, I believe that the benign Ruler of mankind, who watched over and led our fathers, when darkness and adversity surrounded them, by a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire night, to final triumph and victory, will not desert us now. But, sir, I deplore the bitter words, the caustic animadversions and severe criminations uttered here from day to day; here, sir, in the halls of the Capitol, is the place to begin the blessed work of reconciliation. Let us set a glorious fraternal example to the people of our country by abstaining, in our debates on this floor, from what serves to irritate without convincing.

Mr. CAMPBELL. With the permission of my colleague from the Luzerne district, I rise for the purpose of giving a cordial endorsement to the just and patriotic sentiments contained in the resolutions which have been read at the Clerk's desk. The time has arrived when it becomes proper for those who, like my colleague and myself, represent portions of the State of Pennsylvania, to say upon this floor, for her and for her people, that Pennsylvania cannot be suspected of entertaining any hostile sentiments, or of cherishing an aggressive policy, against her sister States. In the exciting, useless, and inflammatory debate which has been progressing within this Hall for the last five weeks, her honor has not been called in question, her character as a law-and-order-abiding State has not, and cannot be, successfully assailed.

Sir, Pennsylvania always has been true, and always will be true, to the Constitution and the laws of the land. No man who will consult her history, or refer to the past and present character of her people, will for a moment doubt the one or the other. I rejoice that my colleague has had the good sense, firmness, and patriotism, at a time like this, to rise in his

place and manfully endorse the sentiments, just and national as they are, which have been read to the House. And let me say, for my own great State, that she is *too great* to be unjust to her sister States. Her position, I repeat it, has ever been, and ever will be, that of a Constitution-loving and law-abiding State. She knows the value of this magnificent Union of ours too well to make assaults herself upon that Union, or to permit others to do so. She holds within her borders revolutionary battle-fields, upon which her sons shed their blood to secure and perpetuate the blessings of the Union. Can she forget this? Can she be false to past renown, and present peace, security, and prosperity?

Sir, with a population of three millions, an empire in herself, she sits there among her mountains with her iron crown upon her head, and, pointing to her proud revolutionary trophies, relies upon the justice, patriotism, and courage, of her hardy sons. Pennsylvania is for the Union absolutely, without qualification, in all contingencies, through every danger, and against the world in arms. There is no such word as "disunion," or that other treasonable word "secession," in her vocabulary. No disunionist could breathe upon her glorious soil. Her people believe that the Union will look down upon the graves of traitors for a thousand years. She gave her blood and her treasure for the Union of these States, and under our wise system of government she has prospered, until she has grown to be a great and powerful Commonwealth. And under the same benign influence her sister States have prospered, new States and new Territories have formed to the shores of the Pacific, and a thousand valleys have been filled with a free, happy, and prosperous people. Under our free institutions, the commerce of the country has spread over the land and over the sea, and the evidences of civilization have bespangled a mighty continent. These are some of the blessings which have followed in the wake of our free form of Government. May it be perpetual!

Sir, let no man say that Pennsylvania will embark in any unlawful crusade against her neighbors. We believe in the equality of the States under the Constitution and laws; but we never endorsed that abominable heresy, that this Government of ours is a mere confederation of States. That idea we abandoned with the old, cumbersome Confederation. It was the *people* of the country who formed the Government under which we live and prosper; it was the work of their hands. The General Government holds the aggregate of power conferred by the people, not by States, as such. That fact they made patent upon the face of the Constitution itself, by declaring that "We, the *people* of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union," &c., "establish this Constitution." The people made it, and the people will take care of it. I never doubted that for a moment.

Sir, I am altogether opposed to the idea that

gentlemen advance here, that any one portion of this Confederacy will at any period of time make war upon any other portion. I cannot entertain the thought for a moment. I have too much confidence in the intelligence and common sense and patriotism of my countrymen to suppose it a possible contingency. And I will not draw comparisons between different sections of my country in relation to the bravery of our countrymen. It can do no good—it would be fruitful in excitement and acrimony. I believe that all Americans are equally brave. I scorn the idea that there is any difference in point of courage between the freemen of the United States residing in different portions of the country. All are of the Anglo-Saxon race. All are free and independent men, and equal in point of true manly courage. It will stultify any Representative to attempt to show that any portion of his countrymen are not as brave as any other portion. Through the veins of over thirty million of freemen residing in this land, rolls the unconquerable blood of the Anglo-Saxon race. That is my answer to the enemies of my country who may attempt to draw invidious distinctions between the courage of the people of one part of the Confederacy and of another part.

Now, Mr. Clerk, one word in regard to the vote which I gave, in connection with several of my colleagues and others, for the honorable gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. GILMER] as Speaker of this House. With my colleague, I followed the flag borne by the illustrious Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for over fourteen years of my life. I never hear that name mentioned without feeling those emotions of patriotism and of admiration for the memory of the great dead, which can only spring into action at the mention of immortal names. I followed the banner of Henry Clay until that flag was folded upon his breast, and laid upon his grave. Then, sir, I united my political fortunes with those of the American Republican party. In Pennsylvania, we call it the People's party—you may call it the American Republican party of the State of Pennsylvania, if you please; names signify but little—principles are everything. The doctrines of that party, as I understand them—I speak for myself alone—are these: We are the friends of the Union and of the Constitution and of all its compromises. We were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise line—a repeal which has opened the floodgate of slavery agitation and aggression upon us. That repeal was the result of Southern votes, Southern agitation, and Southern counsels; it was a Democratic vote and Democratic counsels that destroyed the compromise of 1820.

But, sir, we endorsed the compromise measures of 1850, in the State of Pennsylvania, without distinction of party. We did so for peace, and in the hope that no further compromise would be required at our hands. Have the

people of my State violated those compromise measures? Can you lay your hands upon the record, and show that Pennsylvania refuses to carry out in good faith the compromise measures of 1850? We at the North have kept faith upon all the compromises we have ever made with the people of the South. In my State we have executed all the laws, in the letter and in the spirit, in good faith to all parts of the country. We repudiate none of the compromises of the Constitution, nor any law made under it. We stand where we stood in 1850. On the contrary, the South has advanced beyond the letter and spirit of that and all other compromises made between the North and the South. The Administration of Mr. Buchanan is now demanding Congressional legislation to protect slave property in the Territories. Who supposed, in 1820, a demand of that kind could be seriously made upon the freemen of the North? Who could have supposed so in 1850? Do you not remember the wrongs inflicted upon Kansas? There was an effort made by an Administration calling itself Democratic, by every species of wrong, and force, and fraud, to compel an unwilling people to accept a Constitution which they had not, and could not have, any voice or vote in forming. Have we forgotten, or can we forget, the iniquitous Lecompton policy of this Administration? Did you believe that the freemen of the country would tamely submit to so gross an outrage upon their rights, and upon the very principle upon which our Government is based?

We cannot see where all this will end, if it is not promptly checked by lawful and proper means. Unchecked, it would drive free labor into the frozen lakes of the North, and convert our great Territories into a slave mart.

And further, sir, the People's party of Pennsylvania are opposed to slavery expansion and slavery aggression. We will oppose both within the Union, and within the spirit of the Constitution and the laws, through the instrumentality of the ballot-box and all other lawful means. We believe that, if you elect a Southern man, or if we elect a Northern man; if we elect a Republican or People's man, or you a strict follower of the aggressions as recommended by the President of the United States in his recent message, that man, whoever he may be—whatever his political opinions may be—will take his seat in the Executive chair, so certainly as the sun shall dawn upon the day. He will do it peaceably; and if necessary, Mr. Clerk, the power of this great empire, now slumbering in its strength between two oceans, the good men of all parties, from all sections of the United States, would put forth an effort to enforce the laws. I repudiate the idea that any man, of any political faith, cannot be lawfully, peaceably, and quietly, carried into the Presidential chair. Who will oppose it? Where will treason show its front? Who will commit the overt act? I believe the people of this

great land, and of every section of it, would rise in their might, and support the laws of the country. Where is the statute, where the clause of the Constitution, which prescribes the test of political faith for the President of the United States or the Speaker of this House? Gentlemen talk about the Helper book. I have neither read nor recommended it. If it contains the sentiments which it is said to contain, I care not to do either. But who gave gentlemen the right to make that or any other book the touchstone of political faith and political eligibility?

But to pursue the subject, in regard to my vote for the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. GILMER.] That gentleman was the warm friend of Henry Clay, of Kentucky. He is in favor of administering this House upon its great American originals. He is the avowed advocate of that doctrine which we cherish, and which every State in this great Confederacy true to her interests will cherish—the doctrine of protection for American labor, American capital and enterprise, for our agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing resources, against foreign labor, foreign capital, and foreign workshops—a doctrine, sir, which, if carried out to the practical adoption of a wise, national, and sufficient tariff law at this session, with specific duties, will bring back prosperity and reward to all parts of our land; will re-light the fires of our furnaces and forges, will reward the laborer, give employment to the miner, and establish a convenient and certain market for the farmer. Sir, I have voted for that gentleman with the greatest pleasure; I voted for him on two ballots, because he is a patriotic man, because he is in favor of the Union as it is, the Constitution and the laws, opposed to aggression, and because he is the unflinching friend, as remarked yesterday by the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. STOKES,] of adequate protection to American industry and capital.

I have a word to say, before I take my seat, in regard to a certain remark made by the honorable gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. GARTRELL,] who addressed the House yesterday. I am one of those men, sir, who take a pride in the resources of this country generally. I will not indulge in invidious comparisons between the productions of the various States. Now and then, however, it is refreshing to refer to the statistical facts, when we desire information on any point. The honorable gentleman stated yesterday that the cotton crop of Georgia would buy the State of Pennsylvania. I suppose the gentleman intended to indulge in a little pleasantry, and I propose to answer him in the same strain—with the understanding, however, that I shall refer to facts.

Mr. GARTRELL. Will the gentleman allow me—

Mr. CAMPBELL. In a moment.

Mr. GARTRELL. I was discussing with the

gentleman's colleague, [Mr. HICKMAN.] That gentleman was insisting upon the number of arms that could be manufactured in the North in a few days. My remark was intended to apply to arms. I desired to state that one cotton crop of Georgia would more than buy all the arms you have in Pennsylvania.

Mr. CAMPBELL. With that qualification, I can very readily understand the remark of the gentleman from Georgia. I am not prepared to state, for I have not the statistics before me, as to the number and the value of the arms in Pennsylvania. I do not know what amount of capital it would be necessary for the honorable gentleman from Georgia to invest in order to buy the arms of our volunteers and the State property within our arsenals. They might possibly be *purchased*; they could not be *taken*. But having gone to some little trouble to procure statistics, for the purpose of replying to the gentleman's remark, as I understood the honorable gentleman on yesterday, I will give my friend the figures showing the amount of capital necessary to purchase one of the sixty-five counties of Pennsylvania. The cotton crop of Georgia, as appears from the last census, is estimated in value at about fifteen million dollars. It will now reach probably, if not quite, twenty million dollars. I will give the gentleman the benefit of the outside figure. I want to refer the gentleman to the fact that, in 1850, the crops of Pennsylvania, according to an imperfect estimate, amounted to about the following:

Hay	-	-	-	\$10,000,000
Wheat	-	-	-	15,000,000
Corn	-	-	-	9,000,000
Rye	-	-	-	2,500,000
Oats	-	-	-	5,000,000
Wool	-	-	-	1,000,000
Buckwheat	-	-	-	1,000,000
Clover seed	-	-	-	1,000,000
Butter	-	-	-	5,200,000
				49,700,000

For the accuracy of these figures, and I believe they are much below the mark, I will refer gentlemen to the census compend of 1850, and to De Bow's Review. If gentlemen can give me any more accurate information, I would like to have it.

I have not estimated the annual value of very many productions, nor is it necessary to do so at this time. That makes the aggregate of certain leading agricultural products, \$49,700,000. And I wish to call the attention of the House to the fact that the value of the minerals of one of the two counties which I have the honor to represent, the county of Schuylkill alone, the leading anthracite county of the State of Pennsylvania, in 1855, amounted in value to about twenty million dollars. That of the counties of Luzerne, Carbon, and Lehigh, would probably be equal to the production of Schuylkill county. I will compare the agricultural and

mineral productions of the county of Lancaster alone with the statistics of Georgia—of course in a good-natured way—whenever we have time and opportunity to discuss that question, after this House shall be organized.

Mr. GARTRELL. I will state, that when that time does arrive, I will take very great pleasure to show him the productions of Georgia; and I will take very great pleasure in demonstrating the fact to this House, that the Southern States, though they are in a minority in this Government, export largely more than the entire Northern States of this Union.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Let that issue, then, be joined between us—the relative value of production and export—and I will take pleasure in enlightening the gentleman upon that subject, at the proper time. I know the State of Georgia has taken some steps towards increasing her manufacturing interests, for I know that certain machinists and mechanics have gone to Georgia from my own county—very capable and good men—and are now working in the machine shops and foundries there. I rejoice in it—in the general prosperity of the country. Does the gentleman conceive that I allow my patriotism or pride of country to be limited by State lines? I take this to be a Government of the people, and the gentleman from Georgia and his constituency form a part of it. When comparisons are introduced, the object should be to show the advance of trade and business generally. They are always welcome when they demonstrate our progress as a people.

In this connection, I might refer to the county of Lancaster, which, in 1850, produced crops which may be valued at about the following figures:

Wheat	-	-	-	\$1,365,111
Corn	-	-	-	1,200,000
Rye and oats	-	-	-	1,300,000
Hay	-	-	-	1,440,000
Butter	-	-	-	200,000
				5,505,111

To this must be added the yearly average advance in yield within the last ten years. And I make these remarks to show the progress we are making under a wise Government.

In conclusion, permit me to call the attention of gentlemen to the fact that the aggregate of the agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing productions of Pennsylvania will equal, annually, if they do not exceed, \$500,000,000; and I will undertake to show, at a proper time, from reliable statistics, that they will reach that figure annually. I think the cotton crop of all the Southern States ranges annually from \$165,000,000 to \$185,000,000.

To return, then, for one moment, to the subject with which I commenced these remarks, I desire to say, that at all times, to "the last syllable of recorded time," I trust, Pennsylvania,

with all her resources, with all her people, will be found upon the side of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws. I do not want gentlemen to suppose that I referred to the productions of my State as an element of aggressive power, or that our people will ever be compelled to force a certain part or any part of our nation to remain in the Union. We do not anticipate that necessity ; it does not enter into our calculations ; we hold that idea in perfect contempt. The necessity cannot arrive ; our people are too wise.

One word more to our Southern friends. When gentlemen upon that side of the House, of the Democratic party, endeavor to connect the people of my State with insurrection, or complicity with insurrection ; when they endeavor to connect them with the John Brown raid, directly or indirectly, we have no answer

to make to such a calumny. My people are a proud and sensitive people, and they would scorn me if I consented to put them on the defensive upon such a charge. If made, I would not answer the calumny ; my people would justly hold me responsible for doing so. When gentlemen address me as their peer upon this floor, by argument, in a fair, frank, and friendly way, I will listen to them with the greatest respect and pleasure ; but for menaces, for charges of complicity with treason and insurrection, I have no reply. I point to my State, to her history, to her national spirit, to her whole free, just, and fearless people, and show that she has always been opposed to lawless aggressions, at all times and at all places. With all the spirit and all the power necessary to take care of herself, she is too just to encroach upon the rights of others.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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